

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 14394

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM, US, UR
SUBJECT: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS: WORKING GROUP 1 AND 11 MEETINGS,
OCTOBER 8, 1975 - TTBT/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE NO. 36

1. SUMMARY. GROUP 11 MEETING HELD 1500 OCTOBER 8. SAFRONOV
HANDED OVER TEXT OF DRAFT ARTICLES OF PROTOCOL, AD REFERENDUM
TO SOVIET DELEGATION, EMPHASIZING THAT DRAFT ARTICLES DID
NOT CONSTITUTE A DRAFT PROTOCOL, BUT REPRESENTED ALL OF THE
ARTICLES FOR A PROTOCOL. HECKROTTE SAID US SIDE WISHED TO
STUDY DRAFTS BEFORE ASKING QUESTIONS. GROUP 1 WAS THEN CON-
VENED AND BUCHHEIM DIRECTED FIVE QUESTIONS TO TIMERBAEV
ABOUT SOVIET DRAFT TREATY TEXT. TIMERBAEV IN REPLY STATED
OMISSION OF CONTENT OF US ARTICLE VI OF TREATY WAS DELIBERATE
BECAUSE CONDUCT OF PNES IN THIRD COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE
CONSTRAINED BY BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND USSR. HE
SAID CONTENT OF US ARTICLE IV OF TREATY WAS OMITTED BECAUSE
PROPOSED WORDING COULD BE UNDERSTOOD ONLY IF PNES WERE TO
BE VIEWED AS EXPLOSIONS TO BE USED ON SPECIAL OCCASIONS
BUT THAT SOVIET SIDE AGREED THAT PNES SHOULD NOT BE USED
FOR WEAPON DEVELOPMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. WORKING GROUP 11 (SAFRONOV, BEZUMOV, NOVIKOV, KOVALEV,
PATRAKEYEV, KONASHKOV, AND HECKROTTE, FRYKLUND, NORDKYE,
MCALLISTER AND TUNIK) MET AT 3 PM OCTOBER 8. TIMERVAEV
AND BUCHHEIM ALSO ATTENDED MEETING FOR DISCUSSION OF
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WORKING GROUP 1 ITEMS.

3. SAFRONOV BEGAN MEETING BY SAYING HEAD OF DELEGATION GAVE GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET APPROACH TO PROTOCOLS DURING MORNING MEETING. SOVIETS HAD WORDING FOR A NUMBER OF ARTICLES FOR THE PROTOCOL WHICH THEY WERE PROPOSING AD REFERENDUM TO THE DELEGATIONS BUT WOULD LIKE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO FACT THAT THIS NOT DRAFT TEXT FOR PROTOCOL BUT RATHER IS SET OF ARTICLES WHICH WOULD CONSTITUTE PROTOCOL. SAID SOVIETS TRIED TO USE US WORDING FOR THEIR PROPOSED ARTICLES, TO SIMPLIFY TEXT TO MAXIMUM, AND TO MAKE DEFINITIONS MORE EXACT.

4. SAFRONOV THEN HANDED OVER ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS OF SOVIET PROPOSED TEXT (TRANSMITTED MOSCOW 14364).

5. USDEL QUICKLY SCANNED SOVIET TEXT. HECKROTTE SAID MANY QUESTIONS COME TO MIND BUT FELT IT WOULD BE MORE PROFITABLE TO READ CAREFULLY AND RETURN TOMORROW. IT WAS AGREED TO MEET AT 10 AM, OCTOBER 9.

6. AT THIS POINT MEETING WAS TURNED OVER TO TIMERBAEV AND BUCHHEIM FOR DISCUSSION OF US QUESTIONS REGARDING SOVIET DRAFT TEXT OF TREATY.

7. BUCHHEIM SAID HE HAD SOME PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS TO ASK BUT WANTED TO INDICATE THAT THEY WERE NOT MEANT TO IMPLY AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH ANY PARTICULAR PARTS OF SOVIET TEXT. QUESTIONS ASKED AS FOLLOWS:

QUESTION 1: IN PREAMBLE, US DRAFT SAYS "DECLARING THEIR INTENTION TO IMPLEMENT ARTICLE 111", ETC., WHEREAS SOVIET DRAFT SAYS "PROCEEDING FROM THE OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY THE PARTIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 111", ETC. WHAT DIFFERENCE IN MEANING IS INTENDED?

QUESTION 2: SOVIET DRAFT ADDS TO PREAMBLE THE FOLLOWING: " SEEKING THAT UTILIZATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY SHALL BE DIRECTED TOWARD CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND INCREASING WELFARE OF ALL PEOPLE." WHAT IS INTENDED MEANING?

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QUESTION 3: SOVIET DRAFT DELETES LANGUAGE OF US ARTICLE 1 WHICH DECLARES, AS AN OPERATIVE PROVISION, THAT HIS IS THE AGREEMENT CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE 111 OF THE 1974 TEST BAN TREATY. WHY WAS THIS DELETED?

QUESTION 4: SOVIET DRAFT DELETES US ARTICLE IV. WHY? THE PURPOSE OF THIS US ARTICLE IS TO NOT PERMIT EXPLOSIONS OUTSIDE TEST SITES FOR PURPOSE OF DEVELOPING

NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. IT IS NOT INTENDED TO PROHIBIT,
INHIBIT OR IMPEDE ANY PNE APPLICATION OR EXPERIMENTAL
WORK ON PNE APPLICATIONS.

QUESTION 5: SOVIET DRAFT DELETES US ARTICLE VI.
WHY? DOES THE SOVIET SIDE IN ANY WAY INTEND THAT PNES
CONDUCTED BY THE PARTIES IN THIRD COUNTRIES WOULD NOT BE
SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS AND VERIFICATION PROVISIONS
OF THIS TREATY?

8. BUCHHEIM SAID THAT, IN ADDITION TO OTHER QUESTIONS, US
SIDE WILL HAVE DETAILED COMMENTS LATER ON DEFINITIONS IN
SOVIET ARTICLE 1.

9: TIMERBAEV UNDERSTOOD US QUESTIONS WERE TO UNDERSTAND
IDEAS EMBODIED IN SOVIET WORDING AS WELL AS TO TRY TO FIND
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING. HE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO
ANSWER QUESTIONS BUT RESERVED RIGHT TO RETURN TO THEM IN
FUTURE.

10. IN RESPONSE TO FIRST QUESTIONS REGARDING CHANGE IN
PREAMBLE, TIMERBAEV SAID SOVIETS FELT US DRAFT HAD PRACTI-
CALLY THE SAME WORDING AS SOVIET DRAFT BUT THAT SOVIETS HAD
ATTEMPTED TO BE MORE PRECISE, TO EMPHASIZE OBLIGATIONS OF
PARTIES, AND TO AVOID REPETITION OF IDEAS IN OPERATIVE
PART OF TREATY. THAT WAS REASON FOR DELETING US ARTICLE 1
OF US TEXT AND ADDITION OF SOVIET ARTICLE IV CONCERNING
ENTRY INTO FORCE. TIMERBAEV SAID HE FELT HE HAD ANSWERED
QUESTIONS 1 AND 3.

11. REGARDING QUESTION 2, TIMERBAEV SAID SOVIET ATTACH
GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS PROVISION BEACUSE IT IS RELATED
TO THE PURPOSE OF THE AGREEMENT WE ARE WORKING ON AND
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SOVIETS WANT TO STRESS IN PREAMBLE THAT TREATY WOULD BE
A STEP IN REACHING TO GOAL OF PEACEFUL USES OF NUCLEAR
ENERGY AND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACE AND WELFARE OF
ALL NATIONS.

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12. REGARDING QUESTION 4, TIMERBAEV QUOTED HEAD OF DELEGATION IN WHAT HE SAID WAS CLEAR EXPLANATION IN OCTOBER 6 MEETING. SAID MOROKHOV HAD NOTED THAT WORDING PROPOSED BY US SIDE COULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS SAYING THAT PNES ARE EXCEPTIONS OF SOME KIND AND IMPLYING THAT THEY SHOULD ONLY BE CARRIED OUT ON UNIQUE OCCASIONS. HOWEVER, SOVIETS FEEL PNES WILL PLAY MAJOR ROLE IN SOLVING CERTAIN MAJOR PROBLEMS OF MANKIND. TIMERBAEV SAID IF PURPOSE OF ARTICLE IV WAS TO PROVIDE FOR PREVENTING THE USE OF PNES IN CONNECTION WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SOVIETS AGREED BUT FELT THAT IDEA WAS COVERED IN PARAGRAPH OF PREAMBLE BEGINNING WITH WORDS "DESIRING TO ASSURE . . .".

13. REGARDING QUESTION 5, TIMERBAEV INCIDATED THAT HEAD OF SOVIET DELEGATION GAVE EXPLANATION 1 OCTOBER 6 MEETING WHICH WAS THAT SUCH AN ARTICLE WOULD DEVIATE FROM OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED BY PARTIES UNDER ARTICLE V OF NPT AND THAT IT WOULD BE IMPROPER FOR TWO PARTIES IN BILATERAL DOCUMENT TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS TO BE IMPOSED ON OTHER PARTIES. TIMERBAEV ADDED THAT NPT ARTICLE V CONTAINS CERTAIN PROVISIONS REGULATING PNES IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND PROCEEDED TO QUOTE LANGUAGE OF ARTICLE V OF NPT REGARDING APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION AND AGREEMENT REGARDING PNES. HE NOTED MOROKHOV'S STATEMENT ON OCTOBER 6 THAT THESE AGREEMENTS HAVE NOT YET BEEN

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COMPLETED BUT REFERRED TO RECENT IAEA ADVISORY GROUP MEETING AND SAID IT WAS AGREED THAT AN AD HOC COMMITTEE WAS CREATED TO REPORT TO THE AGENCY ON DEVELOPMENT OF THESE INTERNATIONSL PROCEDURES WITHIN 18 MONTHS. FOR THESE REASONS SOVIETS BELIEVE IT IS NOT CORRECT TO

ESTABLISH, ON A BILATERAL BASIS, PROVISIONS IN A TREATY
THAT WOULD GOVERN CONDUCT OF PNES IN THIRD COUNTRIES.
TIMERBAEV NOTED PAST US-USSR COOPERATION AT IAEA AND
HOPED SUCH COOPERATION WOULD CONTINUE IN FUTURE.

14. MEETING WAS TURNED BACK TO SAFRONOV WHO ASKED IF
US SIDE HAD ANY QUESTIONS ON SOVIET DRAFT PROTOCOL.
HECKROTTE SAID HE WOULD PREFER TO POSE QUESTIONS TOMORROW
AT 10 AM MEETING. TIMERBAEV AND BUCHHEIM AGREED THAT
WORKING GROUP 1 WOULD MEET AT 11 AM TOMORROW.

15. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION AFTER MEETING, BUCHHEIM
SUGGESTED TO TIMERBAEV NEED TO DISCUSS TWO SPECIFIC
TOPICS IN AN EARLY RESTRICTED MEETING:

(A) IMPLICATIONS OF SOVIET DELETION OF US TREATY
ARTICLE VI, WHICH TIMERBAEV HAD JUST ADDRESSED IN PRELIMINARY
WAY IN WORKING GROUP MEETING.

(B) PROBLEMS SEEN BY SOVIET SIDE IN USE OF EQUIPMENT
BROUGHT IN BY VERIFYING SIDE AND WAYS IN WHICH THE
TWO SIDES MIGHT GO ABOUT EXPLORING SUCH PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL
SOLUTIONS (NOTING THAT THESE PROBLEMS ARE "SOLVED" BY
SIMPLY ELIMINATING ALL PROVISIONS FOR VERIFYING-SIDE
EQUIPMENT IN SOVIET-PROPOSED PROTOCOL JUST SUBMITTED).

16. TIMERBAEV SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS THESE TOPICS WITH
MOROKHOV AND NOTED THAT THE SECOND ONE IS ONE OF THE
MOT DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WE FACE, IF NOT THE MOST DIFFICULT.

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